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ABSTRACT

Expectations that Chinese college and university staff and students have concerning English-speaking western educators who are recruited to teach in China were studied. The role that the western educator expects to play in China was also assessed. Attention was focused on the perceptions held by eight Chinese scholars studying in the United States and six U.S. instructurs who have taught in Chinese universities. Chinese students and teachers agreed that the primary role of the foreign (western) teacher in China was to impart knowledge of a particular discipline (in most cases English) and information about culture. Several of the Chinese respondents stated that the more contact with foreigners outside the classrom the better to promote informal learning. Most Chinese interviewed said that foreigners have no role to play in their educational administration. However, the role of foreign advisor exists in China's colleges. Western educators also perceived their role in China as that of teacher. They agreed with the Chinese that teaching rarely stops just because the class ends, since extra time spent with their students continued the process of educating and being educated. Most of the western teachers felt this primary role as teacher was unlikely to change in the near future. (SW)

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THE ROLE OF THE FOREIGNER IN CHINA'S HIGHER EDUCATION SYSTEM

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Introduction

Since the late 1970s, Chinese colleges and universities have engaged the services of a large and growing number of western educators whose native language is English. While the participation of foreigners in Chinese institutions of higher learning is not new, the emphasis on recruiting significant numbers of English speaking educators indicates the growing importance China places on the role of westerners in its education plans.

The central question of this study relates to the perceptions held by Chinese and foreigners who find themselves involved in this new cross cultural educational experiment. Specifically, what role do the Chinese expect the foreign educator to play upon his or her arrival in China, and what role do the foreign educators expect to play? What role does each party expect the foreigner to play in the future? At what points are these perceptions the same and where do they differ?

The impact of this cross cultural encounter proves more far reaching when examined beyond the direct relationships found on college campuses. For the first time in its history, China invites large numbers of English speaking foreign educators to interact in its society. How Chinese who have direct contact with foreigners perceive the role of these outsiders in their education system will be transmitted to other Chinese, including government leaders who make education policy. This accounting of the foreigners will help shape the future perceptions and receptivity of China to outside educators. At the same time, the perception

by foreigners of their role in China helps shape the future receptivity of foreigners to participate in that country's institutions of higher learning.

This study focuses on the perceptions held by eight Chinese scholars now studying in the United States and six American instructors who have taught in Chinese universities. These perceptions are gaged through interviews held recently in the Nashville area and represent preliminary findings. More extensive research is planned for the summer of 1987 in China where interviews will take place in various higher education settings.

The Chinese scholars interviewed for this study come from a variety of institutions throughout China, though most affiliate with national universities. Their fields of study prove varied. Each of them studied under one or more foreigners in China prior to arrival in the United States. All of them studied English under foreigners, with some also studying under foreign instructors of economics, physics, and history.

All of the foreigners interviewed taught either linguistics or English. The six foreigners present a cross-section of foreign experiences in China. One holds the title professor emeritus in linguistics, one entered China with limited experience in teaching English as a second language, and four went to China with no teaching experience at all. Their length of time in China varied from two months to three years.

Historical Role

During China's long and rich history, education has played a major role in fashioning the national destiny. Higher education

finds roots traced back 3000 years to classes that prepared young scholars for the highly competitive state exam (Gu, 1984, p. 141). Thus, for the first 29 centuries of its history, the Chinese met their educational needs through their own initiatives. Regarding all outsiders as barbaric and poorly educated, there appeared no reason to call on foreigners for assistance in advising or directing the education of the Chinese populace. In 1862, however, Emperor Tong Zhi of the Qing dynasty made a move that forever changed the pattern. Deciding that young Chinese should begin to understand foreigners, who were playing an increasingly important role in the economic life of China, Tong established a language school to teach English, French, and Japanese. The first school principal was invited from the United States. The first instructor came from Great Britain (Wang, 1981, p. 653).

The 10 students enrolled in the first class inaugurated a trend that continues to this day. From the early pattern of invited teachers, through the intrusive establishment of missionary schools and universities in the early part of the 20th century, to the influx of Soviet education experts in the 1950s and the recent invitation of thousands of western educators, one theme has proven constant. When foreign teachers and Chinese students get together, different perceptions of the role the foreigner can play are manifested. Wang (1981, p. 657), speaking of the historical role of foreigners in China' classroom, argues that cultural differences in teaching methods and classroom expectations sprang up whenever foreigners taught Chinese students. Wu, (1983), speaking of modern China, says:

> As foreign teachers in China are working in social, political and cultural settings quite different from those with which they are familiar, it is not at all surprising that many of them should have found difficulties, contradictions, and frustrations. While granting that some of these problems are unavoidable, I believe a constructive and rewarding working relationship can be fostered with efforts by both Chinese and foreigners, and better results can be achieved by their joint effort . . . . In order to achieve the desired results, it is first of all important for foreign teachers to enter China with a realistic assessment of the situation. Without a clear picture of the conditions they will be working in, they are likely to be unprepared for the difficulties that await them or to lack enough confidence to work towards their resolution (p. 111).

Outside the classroom, another problem concerns misunderstood perceptions of the proper role foreign educators should play in their interaction with the complex social, political, and educational fabric that makes up China's higher education system. An example is the Yale-in-China experience. With high ideals about introducing superior moral and educational standards into China, Yale University began a medical college in Hunan Province in the late years of the 19th century. Upon arrival, the first teachers were met with posters stating, "let us kill foreigners and their officials!" and "Put to death the foreign students and their children!" Despite this anti-foreign sentiment, the young naive missionaries proved undaunted in their efforts. The President of Yale-in-China, Edward Hume, stated in these early days that he desired the Chinese to attend this medical college where they would learn western customs and the Christian religion. This would, he said, make them true citizens of the world.

After over 20 years in this new culture, however, Hume's

perspective changed. He grew tired of greeting new, young missionaries who brought only enthusiasm, but no knowledge of China with them. By the mid-1920s it struck him that the original ideas and goals of missionary Yale might not be best for China. The university, he said, intruded on China. It did not really meet the needs of that very different country and if it desired to continue it should at least restructure its presence to that of a guest. He even suggested that China absorb the Yale program (Spence, 1980, pp. 166-167). Thus, Hume was one of the first foreigners to understand that Chinese people might hold a different perception of the role of foreigners in their education system than the foreigners hold of themselves.

Following the establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949, China did indeed absorb Yale-in-China--in addition to other foreign educational programs. The tensions between cultures and the misunderstanding between what Chinese desired from foreigners and what foreigners thought they should bring to the Chinese, brought down a tightly-drawn curtain between Chinese and foreigner. This applied to many areas of Chinese society, but none more than longstanding cross cultural educational programs. The estrangement lasted for almost 30 years.

Recent developments find westerners in China's institutions of higher learning again. Now arriving as invited guests, both foreigner and Chinese seek ways to establish constructive ties. The future of these ties remains unclear. On the one hand, based on China's history and its negative view of foreign involvement in its internal affairs, the current influx of foreign educators

might be viewed as a possible temporary phenomenon. Educators have been expelled from China before. It could happen again. On the other hand, it may signal a new view by China of its place in the world--perhaps as a more international country, one moving out of centuries of isolation and anti-foreignism.

Analytic Framework

This study explores questions leading to greater understanding of how China's higher education system faces this new involvement with the western world. As an analytical base, it depends heavily on arguments presented by Spence (1980). Speaking of the role foreigners played in various aspects of Chinese life in China's past, Spence (1980) states:

> Every technique that Western advisers had brought had eventually been assimilated: heliocentric theories and calendrical science, sophisticated medical surgery, economic planning, engineering, interdisciplinary universities, long-distance communications, mechanized warfare, nuclear physics. The Westerners had presented their expertise as the wrapping round an ideological package, however, and had tried to force the Chinese to accept both together. It was this that the Chinese had refused to tolerate; even at their weakest, they sensed that acceptance of a foreign ideology on foreign terms must be a form of submission. . . . As we look back across the cycle from 1620 to 1960, we can observe the standpoint of superiority from which the Western advisors approached China. This superiority sprang from two elements: the possession of advanced technological skills and a sense of moral rightness. Convinced that their goals were good and that their advice was sorely needed, the Westerners adopted a proprietary air toward China; Chinese refusal to accept the validity of their goals, and Chinese rejection of their advice, were met with Western bewilderment or anger (p. 280).

The purpose of this study is to test whether Spence's argument remains as valid today in the field of education as it did before this new period of western involvement. The hypothesis

entering this study is that, despite an apparent relaxation of tensions in relations between Chinese and foreigners in China's colleges and universities, the Chinese still invite foreigners for specific tasks to fulfill. Any involvement in their society beyond that remains not only unwelcome, but also socially and politically suspect.

Research Methodology

The research methodology utilized in this study is based on a qualitative approach to research. Such an approach works best in this study because the question of personal perceptions, studied across very different cultures, requires that the interviewer and interviewee have time to break through cultural barriers with personal discussion. Such an approach allows for reaching common understanding of what the study hopes to achieve. It also allows the complexity of the issue to be fully explained through the subtleties and changing nature of the relationship studied. Supporting the use of qualitative research, Filstead (1979) states, "In this paradigm individuals are conceptualized as active agents in constructing and making sense of the realities they encounter rather than responding in a robotlike fashion according to their role expectations established by social structures" (p. 36).

The particular qualitative approach utilized in this study relies on the narrative interview. The rationale and framework needed to construct the actual narrative interviews draws heavily from Wiedemann and Becker (1985). They argue, "One of the most important features in contemporary psychological research is the

growing focus on subjective experience, e.g. people's cognitions, expectations, world view, how they perceive their own life, and the social world in general" (p. 2). This study focusing on educators from China and the west concerns itself with exactly these type of subjective, societal experiences. To allow an open expression of views, data must be gathered in such a manner that allows people the opportunity to express themselves freely and to emphasize what they desire to stress.

This narrative interview approach aims at drawing out comments, or narratives, about events in which they have participated. These narrations allow the person to highlight through descriptive means actions and events relating to complex experiments important to the narrator (Wiedemann & Becker, 1985, p. 3) This approach works well with the subjects interviewed in this study, especially the Chinese participating. As Murray (1983, p. 12) points out, the attitude Chinese take to foreigners relies on a pattern perfected over centuries. Maintaining a proper, considerate, and complimentary posture is paramount in dealing with foreigners. Because of this, the use of a questionnaire, or a more structured instrument allowing the Chinese to retreat into expected and polite responses to questions, proves unworkable. The narrative interview, however, allows time to break through the "keqi" (required, through perhaps false, politeness) stage of an interview and move toward more meaningful discussion. This supports Filstead's (1979, p. 36) point that a proper qualitative approach allows the interviewee to express realities as they actually view them rather than respond

in a mechanical way based on role expectations mandated by social structures.

The Role of the Foreigner- Chinese Perceptions

Speak the Language and Explain the Culture

Chinese students and teachers agree that the primary role of the foreigner in China's classroom is to impart knowledge of a particular discipline (in most cases English) and information about the culture that propels this knowledge. Xie outlined seven areas where the foreign teacher of English might best play a role: a) expose Chinese to "true, native English, b) teach foreign culture c) teach the use of idioms, d) teach contextual meaning of words, e) teach "vivid" use of the language, as opposed to Chinese teachers' dependence on Chinese in the classroom, f) teach natural pronunciation and accent, g) present lectures to improve listening skills and teach culture. Hu adds the importance of teaching writing skills as well, especially for those going abroad to study. Additionally, Hu, Wong, and Zhou pointed out that many desire the introduction of new teaching methods. Some or all of these English teaching roles were mentioned by each of the Chinese scholars interviewed.

Most of those interviewed stated that the most important elements brought by the foreign teacher to the classroom were the abilities to speak native English and explain the culture from which the language sprang. It was for the purposes of teaching language and culture, with language learning taking precedence over culture sharing, that the foreigners were invited to teach in China.

Go to Them Whenever You Have a Question

Xie said the role of the foreigner outside the classroom was to organize informal educational activities such as plays and songfests. Wong, Lan, Sui and Su shared that teaching simply moved from the classroom to the foreigner's apartment, where English instruction and sharing of culture took place. Hu stated that the more contact with foreigners outside the classroom the better, for then one's English improves. While admitting they should be given some time to rest, he emphasized that the more access Chinese students have to foreigners the better they will play their role in China.

Zhou pointed out that while the foreigner has little time to engage in activities outside of teaching, he or she should understand that the Chinese teacher lives with some of the same constraints. Before the foreigners arrived on his campus, Zhou said he and his fellow students never thought the foreigners would be treated very differently from the Chinese teacher where access was concerned. Outside the classroom, the teacher, whether Chinese or foreigner, is always a teacher. Teachers answer questions while walking across campus and during the evening in their apartments. The only difference, he said, is that the foreigner should engage in this more than the Chinese teacher. I know from my observations in China that Zhou's perception of the role of the Chinese teacher outside the classroom proves accurate.

Perhaps the best expression of the role the foreigner plays in China through Chinese perception comes from Sui. She stated,

We were encouraged [by Party leaders] to use them

as much as possible. We were told that since they are here and they are paid by our department 800 dollars a month, you should go to them whenever you have every question, even very, very silly questions. Just try to make good use of them. We took them totally as academic figures rather than human beings.

Several of the Chinese, including Sui, pointed out that while the role has changed little since the new influx of westerners first came in 1979, the opportunity for Chinese to get to know the foreigners as "human beings" has improved in recent years. Sui and Xi pointed out that whereas the first foreigners to arrive at their respective universities were suspected by some of being spies, in recent years that attitude has all but vanished. Now, Xie said."...we don't know where they go. It doesn't matter. People outside the college can visit [the foreigners] and visa versa. This shows how much thinking has changed." While this new flexibility creates a more relaxed environment for Chinese and foreigners, the actual role played by the foreigner in China's higher education system appears to have changed little or none.

Advisors Maybe - Administrators Never

Most Chinese interviewed said that foreigners have no role to play in their educational administration. While some of the younger students hope for more input from foreigners in the future administration of their Chinese institutions. none see that as a possibility now and realize that it will take new reforms to bring

such a role to bear on Chinese education. Some of the students point with hope to an experiment recently enacted in Wuhan where a German manager took control of a large factory. This made an impression on the students and some wondered if higher education might not learn from this. Most of those interviewed, however, saw no chance of foreigners playing a role in China's educational administration beyond that of tolerated advisor for some time to come. Lan, one of the oldest and most influential politically of those interviewed, states the reason for this;

> Higher Education is considered part of the most important propaganda branch. It is regarded as a very important area, ideologically, that is strictly controlled by the Party. They appoint those people who can follow the present policy. The departmental leadership follows, because it is the only way they can climb up. This situation will not change in the near future, or longer. Never.

Zhou and Ma support this view, stating that because universities deal with the less structured, more arbitrary product of ideas, foreigners will not be welcome to lead there. Reforms, Zhou said, come slowly in China, and compared to factories and the countryside, changes come even slower in the educational setting. Hu said that foreigners can play no administrative role in Chinese education because the social system proves so different that foreigners cannot adjust their administrative techniques to fit it. He said, "Foreigners are not used to it and don't understand

it. So they should not say anything about it." He added that while their technical assistance proves valuable, their lack of knowledge and appreciation for Chinese culture and politics precludes their involvement in higher education administration. Ma supports this view and said that the foreigner has no role in China's educational administration. It is a question, in fact, he said he never considered until the interview.

The role of foreign advisor as opposed to administrator, however, exists in China's institutions of higher learning. Xie and Sui point out that substantial changes in curriculum have occurred due to advice from foreign teachers. Xie points out that at his institution there are regular meetings with foreign teachers to decide curriculum and teaching methodology decisions. Zhou stated that he knew of an administrator from Johns Hopkins University, an overseas Chinese, who acted as an advisor on matters of education on the national level for a period of time. It is important to understand, however, that most advising is confined to decisions relating to the foreign teachers' role and rarely transfers to the role of the Chinese teacher.

Hu points out that even as advisors, most foreigners prove less than helpful. He relates the story of a marketing professor from the west who criticized the Chinese practice of allowing students to attend colleges and universities free of charge. He doubted if the Chinese students could stay motivated in their studies if they received their education with no financial sacrifice. Hu pointed out that such an attitude ignores the reality that Chinese students study very hard. Such advice proves

unappreciated and shows the problem with foreigners unfamiliar with Chinese culture playing any role in administrative decisions. Suggestions in technical matters, he said, such as how to better computerize student records, might prove practical. However, Hu pointed out, to engage in Chinese decision making is of no help. To say, for example, as some foreigners have, "You should change your leaders," is useless. "I don't mean its really dangerous. I mean it is not useful. It is meaningless."

Wong relates the story of an American engineer who went to his university to oversee the installation of new equipment. Immediately upon arrival he set out to manage the whole operation involving this exercise. The leaders of the university told him that his role was to work with Chinese professors as an advisor and not to manage, or supervise, any aspect of the operation. He became frustrated, sometimes losing his temper and cursing the leaders and the workers. The college leaders, Wong said, paid little attention to his outbursts or his sentiments. "After all," they said, "he's just a foreigner." They only wanted his expertise and the job completed. After that he would return home.

The role of the foreigner, as perceived by the Chinese interviewed, can be viewed almost exclusively as that of teacher. Whether he or she is in the classroom, at home, or walking across campus, teaching remains the only real role for the foreigner in a Chinese university or college. While it appears that Chinese spend more informal time with the foreigners today than a few years ago, and it appears that the foreigner has more flexibility to move about China than existed a few years past, the role itself

seems to have changed not at all over the past eight years. In special cases, the foreigner can engage in an advisory role. It is not anticipated, however, that the foreigner will ever be allowed in a position of administrative responsibility in a Chinese college or university. The culture and politics of the country disallow such activity. One point to keep in mind here, however, is that the younger the Chinese interviewed the more he or she sees the advantages to such a role in the future. On the other hand, two of those interviewed, Lan and Hu, saw no use in a foreigner playing this role. Whether in favor or not, however, no Chinese expects such activity until major political reforms arrive in China.

Role of the Foreigner - Foreign Perceptions

Freedom to Teach

The foreigner's perception of his or her role in China's classroom differs little from the Chinese perception. While the subject taught or the method of teaching varied from narrator to narrator, all agreed that the role remained that of teacher. The teaching included, in all but one case, an emphasis on teaching western culture in addition to English. That exception came from Gladys, the professor emeritus of linguistics who said discussion of western culture had no place in her classroom. Debbie said that in her case teaching culture took precedence over English. Not only did she enjoy this more, but she said her students encouraged it. None of the foreigners felt constrained to discuss any issue relating to their culture.

Just Teaching Machines

The perception of the foreigners role outside the classroom differs little from that of the Chinese. All foreigners agree that teaching rarely stops just because class ends. Betty said; "Outside office and classroom I don't know where the personal and the professional is divided, because as foreigners we're always educating and being educated." All of the teachers except one welcomed this opportunity to spend extra time with their students. Gladys said she had no time for teaching outside the classroom if she was expected to be prepared for the next day's class. All others felt it was their responsibility to share as much as possible with the students since the interaction gave them a good chance to learn about China and to develop friendships with their students, a desire all of them shared.

One difference among the foreigners interviewed shows that those who went earliest hold different attitudes about their relationship with their students than those who arrived recently. Sally and Betty voiced concern that their students could get in political trouble if they spent too much time with the foreigner. Therefore, the role as teacher outside the class served them well in that these visits helped make legitimate informal contacts with students and teachers. There was no similar concern expressed by those going to China in recent years. This stands in agreement with Xie's statement that the early years of spy watching have given way to the freedom of movement that exists now.

The constant teaching role took a toll on those teachers who spent years in China, however, and created in them a cynicism

about how the Chinese viewed their presence. Betty and Sally mentioned that even after living in China for more than two years they were never fully appreciated outside their role as teacher. Betty stated, "If they could have encapsulated English teaching in a machine, that is what they would want." Sally supports this when she said, "Some thought we were just machines and couldn't envision us as human beings." Gladys, who also has experience in setting up cross cultural exchanges with China, was the only one who taught there recently who supported this view. She said that if the Chinese leaders thought knowledge from the west could be gained without the presence of foreigners in their country, they would certainly prefer that.

The role outside the classroom took on added dimensions for Ruth and Debbie, both of whom entered China with their own agendas. Each traveled to China under the auspices of a Christian sponsored, English language teaching organization. Their underlying goal involved opening doors for Christians to influence China. Even in the classroom Ruth carefully selected literature presenting biblical phrases, names, and concepts. Debbie said that she did not engage in this subtle practice. Outside the classroom, however, each of them discussed with Chinese their religious faith. Ruth stated, "We had an agenda, to contact people who might be Christians." She invited students to her apartment to listen to tapes of great literature, such as Red Badge of Courage and Moby Dick , each of which use biblical references. The hope was to elicit questions relating to those references so religious concerns could be broached. Debbie said

she opened herself up to discussing her religion also, but never initiated the subject unless given an opening. She agreed, however, that her goal was to make lasting contacts that would lead to a greater Christian presence in China. She wanted to draw people to her through what she called her "principled Christian lifestyle." "Teaching," she said, "was the tool to get this across." The organization with which both Ruth and Debbie affiliated has an arrangement with the Chinese that appears to be an honest one. The Chinese, Ruth and Debbie say, know the organization's motivation for entering China, and the foreigners going under the auspices of this organization understand that they should not proselytize while in China. The Chinese, they said, gain much from them, however, even given this acknowledged motivation. Debbie explained, "They wanted Christians because our morals are higher, and we're more serious in our work. Additionally, we pay our own way to China and receive no salary from them beyond room, board, and in-country travel. The Chinese know how to get what they want." Jim, familiar with foreigners motivated to enter China by Christian commitment, supported Debbie's statement. "They need teachers so badly, they just look the other way," he said.

Except for the interest of the two interviewed to use their time to open China up to Christianity, the foreigners held basic agreement with their Chinese hosts on their role. Foreigners should teach their discipline and impart information about their culture to their students. Those who entered China earliest sensed that their role was very narrowly defined and restricted in

some ways. Those who have traveled their recently agreed that the role remains narrowly defined, but voiced no such concerns about restrictions, even when they shared values they knew were not compatible with those of the authorities. Because those who went earliest also stayed the longest, it remains unclear whether the different perceptions concerning how they were received and what is really expected is due to a real change in China or because those going in 1979 stayed long enough to understand China's subtleties better than those staying a short time.

Administration Not Their Place

Every foreigner interviewed supported the Chinese view that the role of the foreign educator does not include that of administrator. Betty said it would have been "arrogant" to even give suggestions to the administration. "We are foreigners in a Chinese institution and we're only a very small part of the institution. We should not try to change it. American institutions would not like that." Gladys said, "I had no right or desire to change the administration. All I wanted was to teach and have my privacy." Ruth said just because the Chinese style of administration was not like hers, that proved no reason to tell the Chinese how to change their ways. The foreigners interviewed had no desire to engage in the university's administration nor did they think they had much to offer in this respect. Most of them said that they offered suggestions on curriculum and class schedules, but that beyond that they felt no need to play a role in how the university was run. Several of them, however, recounted stories of other foreigners who attempted to push their

ideas on administration further than the Chinese appreciated. But each said they never acted in this manner.

Motivated by Adventure and Romance - Chinese Perceptions

Seven of the eight Chinese narrators said that they grew quickly disappointed in the caliber of teaching presented by the foreigners. While all of them stated that they awaited their first foreign teachers with an air of excitement and wonder, they also said that many, if not most, of the teachers they encountered entered China poorly trained in their field and interested in other matters more than teaching. Hu joins Sui in arguing that as a whole, Chinese teachers proved more capable of teaching English than the foreign teachers. Sui pointed out that some of the problems arose over Chinese authorities hiring spouses of trained professors to teach. The thinking was, if it can speak English, it can teach it. Su points out that her first experience with a foreigner proved disappointing because the young American brought to teach her had actually entered China to conduct research rather than teach. She was recruited to teach after arriving in China and this obviously was not her principle interest.

The reason stated most often for poor teaching relates to examples similar to that expressed by Su. Most Chinese perceive that the foreign teachers entered China primarily for reasons other than teaching. Wong, Zhou, and Lan said that the reasons foreigners come to teach in China include the desire to have a "China experience," find adventure, have fun, go to the seaside, just enjoy themselves, and, like Su, they pointed out that several foreigners want to teach in China so they may have access to China

to carry out research. Lan also said that some foreigners enter China "to find a Chinese girl to marry." Hu said that the one exception to this sentiment were the overseas Chinese instructors. They appeared motivated primarily to serve "the motherland" and contribute to China's development. "They all were very conscientious in their work," he said. While several mentioned that the motivation to contribute to China's development was one they desired from their foreign teachers, this was the only statement that showed they perceived any of the foreigners actually motivated by this.

Several of those interviewed said that in recent years Chinese authorities have recruited teachers more strictly and some of the problems of poorly trained, or untrained, teachers, is being resolved by inviting more qualified teachers. Even Xie, who offered no criticism of foreign teachers directly, said that "we are now inviting teachers who suit our needs better than we did before." Lan places part of the blame for this problem on the shoulders of the Chinese authorities responsible for inviting foreign teachers. Many of those leaders hold no experience in higher education and felt, he said, that if the foreigner could speak English like a native, he or she could teach it. Ma said that much of his instruction by foreigners between 1979 -1982 proved a "waste of time". Over the past few years, however, he said the authorities have chosen the foreign instructors better and planned their curriculum better. No matter who is responsible for the foreign teachers chosen, the fact remains that most of the Chinese experiencing foreign teachers perceive many of those

teachers as poorly trained, and motivated to teach in China only as a vehicle to accomplish other goals.

Motived by Adventure and Conversions - Foreign Perceptions

All six of the foreigners interviewed supported the perceptions of the Chinese. As seen previously, Ruth and Debbie entered China with the primary goal of making contacts and creating an environment that might lead to a greater Christian presence in China. Both stated this quite clearly. Their goal was to win people to their religion. Both felt they were following in a rich tradition of missionaries in China. Despite this primary motivation, Ruth and Debbie expressed satisfaction in their accomplishments in the classroom and perceived that they had fulfilled their commitment as teachers well.

Gladys entered China as perhaps the most experienced professionally of the six teachers interviewed. A professor of linguistics, she had much to offer that the Chinese foreign language departments desired. When asked if she went to China because she desired to share knowledge of a field so important to Chinese teachers of foreign language, Gladys said that was not why she went. "I went", she said, "because it was a chance to see China without expense."

Betty, Jim, and Sally also stated that their primary motivation in entering China had little to do with teaching. Betty, a recent university graduate, had studied Chinese culture and language and wanted a China experience. Jim entered China almost by accident after his mother, a professor involved in a cross-cultural programs with China, arranged for him to teach in

China even though he had no teaching experience. A recent graduate of a Master of Arts program in journalism, Jim entered China eagerly knowing several good articles could come of this experience. Sally, a politically active "friend" of China in the 1970s entered China with no teaching experience. Her motivation for going to China in 1979 was to improve relations between China and the United States. "For three years", she said, "I felt like an informal diplomat representing my country." As an afterthought to this expression, she also said one of her motivations was "to have a great adventure."

Those foreigners interviewed support the perceptions of the Chinese in that none of them entered China primarily to teach English or impart some bits of knowledge about their culture or to assist in China's new stage of development. In fact, four of the six possessed no academic expertise prior to arrival in China and an equal number knew almost nothing about China's desire to develop economically and technologically. The one point of difference in perception between the foreigners and the Chinese remains that even though most admit they did not enter China academically qualified, each felt he or she served China well as a teacher.

Little Change in the Future - Chinese Perceptions

All eight of those interviewed see foreigners involved in Chinese colleges and universities well into the future. None, however, see the role as outlined above changing in any meaningful way. Some of the younger ones, like Wong, Ma, and Zhou, desire that a more administrative and advising role accompany foreign

involvement in the future. None, however, see this actually happening. Two reasons exist for this reluctance. The first, expressed by Lan, is that China still holds to many Confucian ideas that prove alien to the west. Chinese, because of this influence, will never live comfortably with too many western influences such as competition and individualism.

The other reason lies with the fact that China's political and social system prohibits involvement from foreigners in meaningful internal decisions, including those in education. Most of them see the numbers increasing, with a trend towards more professionally trained teachers, especially in the fields of science and technology. Hu states clearly that, while foreigners will remain in China's educational institutions for the near future, this involvement will "not go too far." Foreigners, he says, do not know China's real situation, they do not know the culture and do not appreciate the government policies. Unless China has great political changes in the future, this will remain the same. Hu concedes that some younger Chinese desire more foreign influence than China now experiences, but, reflecting on the same issue of traditional Confucian ideas, he added, "when they get older, who knows what they will feel."

Unclear Future- Foreign Perceptions

Betty and Sally, those foreigners who stayed in China for two or more years, hold strongly to the idea that the future proves unpredictable. Both expect periodic shifts in the numbers of educators entering China and the freedom allowed them in teaching and living. Betty calls this China's "loosening and tightening,

loosening and tightening." In this way educators prove no different from other foreigners, as China responds at all levels to what Sally calls "the fluctuating political currents found on the national level." Ruth, while confident the numbers of foreigners will increase, also shared the concern that at some point in the future China will either open up more to western ideas and educators, or it will shut down. "Something will give one way or the other," she said. Ruth did not, however, speak of an ebb and flow in the relationship, only of a definitive decision in the future relating to opening or closing.

Jim, Gladys, and Debbie, all of whom stayed in China for one year or less, see the future role of the foreigner in much the same light as found today. The only difference they anticipate relates to the Chinese desire to invite better qualified teachers. The role outside the classroom, they state, while perhaps opening some more, will change little or none.

Conclusion

We can see from the above discussion that many foreigners entering China today expect to follow the role assigned them by the Chinese. None of those interviewed balked at this assigned role. They understood that their role was to teach, both in and out of the classroom, that their opinions regarding the administration of the institution proved of little value, and that this role will not likely change in the foreseeable future. Indeed, most of those interviewed voiced concern and outrage over the arrogance shown by foreigners they saw in China who mocked Chinese customs and culture. In this way perhaps Spence's

argument that foreigners' desire to change China proves unfounded with many of the new foreigners going to China, for all of those interviewed for this study said they have no right to interfere in China's internal decision making process.

However, some comments made throughout the interviews also point to what may now be only a more subtle sense of arrogance brought by foreigners today. The missionary agenda of Debbie and Ruth certainly leads one to see that they perceived their role as that of bringing a superior, more moral life to the Chinese: not unlike foreigners of old in China. The only difference is that before 1949 Christians stated more directly their reason for going to China. The current Chinese reception to this hidden agenda also supports Spence's argument. The Chinese, while knowing of this agenda, show confidence in the strength of their ancient culture to take what they can use from these English speaking Christians and ignore the unfortunate cultural baggage that accompanies it.

One other point that shows the subtle arrogance of foreigners today in China relates to the recent student demonstration. Interviews for this study were in progress while the demonstrations made headlines in American newspapers. Every foreign educator commenting on the demonstrations said that the presence of the foreigners was at least in part related to the demonstrations. Some, like Gladys, Ruth, and Debbie said that the presence of the foreigners were primarily responsible for the demonstrations. Debbie stated, "It really scares me, what we may have done. We may have created a monster. I think the want for a culture different from theirs was there. We added fuel to the

fire that was already there." Sally and Betty, those who went earliest and stayed longest, said that the role was at least an indirect one, in that inevitably western ideas of democracy and exchange of free ideas intrigued the students and caused them to form new, more radical ideas of their own. Each commented, however, that the role was probably a small one. Betty said, "Wei Jing Sheng advocated the same thing a few years ago and he had no access to foreign teachers."

The Chinese perception on this question proves in stark contrast to that of some of the foreigners. Ma, Lan, and Xie stated that the student demonstrators, while perhaps indirectly influenced by foreigners in their institutions, were actually influenced most by returning Chinese scholars like themselves who had actually experienced democracy. Only one foreigner, Sally, suggested that this could be one of the causes of the demonstrations. Following Spence's argument that foreigners like to think they can influence, or change, China, we see that many of those foreigners going to China today perceive that they actually have great influence on the culture. The Chinese, on the other hand, perceive that when China changes, it is they who activate the change. They continue to tolerate, even appreciate, the foreign presence when the contribution is confined to a narrowly defined task. They appear alternately humored and irritated when it is suggested that foreigners can actually step outside that role and attempt to alter their culture.

In 1982 Deng Xiao Ping said

We will unswervingly follow a policy of opening to

> the outside world and actively increase exchanges with foreign countries on the basis of mutual equality and benefit. At the same time we will keep a clear head, firmly resist corrosion by decadent ideas from abroad, and never permit the bourgeois way of life to spread in our country (cited in Hayhoe, 1984, p. 41).

The interviews show that there is no reason to believe Deng's sentiment will not hold sway for the near, and probably long range, future.

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